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ABSTRACT

This syllabus, for use in a one semester course on the history of modern China, covers the period from the Manchu domination in 1644 to the present. The course is designed to create an interest in China, emphasizing the social and cultural aspects of history, as well as the political and economic dimensions. A narrative summary of course content is divided into these two major periods: 1) The Ch'ing Dynasty to 1911, and 2) The Republic. The first section presents an overview of significant events and influential leaders, noting such topics as: the Manchu influence, Chinese cultural traditions, geographic factors, Western influence, religion, foreign relations (especially with Britain, the United States, Japan), nationalism, and reform movements. The second section is devoted to the development of the People's Republic of China and highlights the roles of such major political leaders as Sun Yat-sen, Chiang K'ai'shek, Yuan Shih k'ai, Mao Tse'tung, and Chou En'lai. Listed are the objectives to be developed through methods of lecture, student discussion, projects, and integrated cultural activities. Curriculum materials, including five main textbooks, supplemental books, films, filmstrips, overhead transparencies, and recordings are given. SO 001 201 describes a related course in Imperial Chinese History. (Author/JSB)

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CHINESE-RUSSIAN STUDY CENTER
Toledo Public Schools
Toledo, Ohio

SP 001 200

Syllabus for use in Modern Chinese History
as prepared by Carol Husum, 1969-1970

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INTRODUCTION

This one semester course on the history of modern China begins with the Manchu domination of 1644. Although technically part of Imperial China, the Ch'ing dynasty saw the decline of such ancient Chinese traditions as the family, the gentry, the educational system, Confucianism as well as the withering away of the influence of the dynasty itself. Some contact with the West had begun during the previous Ming dynasty, but only to a limited degree and on Chinese terms. All this changed under the Manchu. Western penetration was the catalyst which for better or worse, succeeded in planting China in the modern age.

Again while a history of modern China might logically begin with the establishment of the Republic, the abolition of the monarchy in China, like many other reform or revolutionary movements, was not spontaneous, but rather one of a series of events which gained momuntum after the Opium Wars of 1841 until 1911. The revolutionary movement itself did not cease with the abdication of the ruler but continued until the Communist takeover of the mainland and, in fact still exists today.

In studying any period of history, it is important to understand the trends and relationships which give meaning to that period. One cannot have a complete picture of modern China without understanding her cultural heritage. There is also some value in anticipating possible consequences of events and actions taking place in the present era. In offering such a prognosis, one perhaps compensates for the lack of accuracy by an increased awareness of and concern for the manner in which man's actions can determine and influence his future.

The study of modern China is particularly appropriate for an analysis of our own culture and can be valuable, not only for understanding a culture which has great influence in today's world, but as an aid in seeing ourselves through the eyes of another culture and perhaps better understanding ourselves

because of this added perspective. I might also say at this point that just as China has been shrouded in mystery for those of us in the West, so we have been inadequately understood by her.

This course has been designed to create an interest in China, emphasizing the social and cultural aspects of history, as well as the political and economic dimensions. In a one semester course, obviously there is much that cannot be treated in depth. This need for selection, however, allows the teacher considerable latitude in selecting topics which meet the specific needs of particular classes. Therefore, the following objectives and course description are offered solely as a guide and will be revised in the light of classroom experience.

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

1. To understand that China has a rich cultural heritage which influences that nation today.
2. To understand that geography, as well as cultural tradition, has tended to isolate China from the rest of the world.
3. To realize that geographical conditions play a vital part in China's standard of living and way of life today.
4. To recognize the impact which the West had upon China.
5. To understand the difficulties involved in bringing about social and economic reform.
6. To understand the concept of multiple causation in history and its application in China.
7. To appreciate the role of the individual in the course of history.
8. To realize the reasons for the Nationalist-Communist split and to understand the need for discovering an equitable solution to the "China Problem."
9. To understand the interrelationships of China with her Asian neighbors.
10. To recognize the need for mutual understanding.
11. To realize that in spite of his differences man has very much in common which is much more important to him.

METHODS

The basic teaching methods used are a combination of lecture and student discussion. To encourage active student participation and to provide for a more meaningful learning experience, the students are required to do a semester creative project or research paper on a topic of their own choosing.

Provision is made for the use of audio-visual materials and for extra-curricular activities such as the celebration of Chinese festivals and participation in the International Parade in Toledo to stimulate the learning experience. Guest lecturers have also been used very effectively in treating special topics such as Chinese religions and the history of art in China.

MATERIALS

Textbooks

1. CHINA SINCE 1800 by John A. Harrison; Harcourt, Brace and World
2. CHINA by Hyman Kublin; Houghton Mifflin Company
3. CHINA: SELECTED READINGS by Hyman Kublin; Houghton Mifflin Company
4. PEKING'S RED GUARD by Stephen Pan and Raymond deJaegher; Twin Circle Publishing Company
5. AS PEKING SEES US by Yuan-li Wu; Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University

Supplemental books

1. THE AGELESS CHINESE by Dun Jen Li; Charles Scribner's Sons
2. THE CHINESE: THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE by Kenneth Scott Latourette; Macmillan Company
3. CHINA'S CULTURAL LEGACY AND COMMUNISM edited by Ralph C. Coizier; Praeger
4. SOURCES OF CHINESE TRADITION by William Theodore DeBary; Columbia University Press
5. SOUL OF CHINA by Amaury de Riencourt
6. SPIRIT OF CHINESE POLITICS by Lucian Pye
7. ASIAN STUDIES INQUIRY PROGRAM; Field Educational Publications
   a. Life in Communist China
   b. Chinese Painting
   c. Chinese Popular Fiction
   d. China and the United States
   e. East Meets West
   f. Man and Woman in Asia
   g. Cultural Patterns in Asian Life
   h. Man and His Environment in Asia
   i. Buddhism
   j. Confucianism and Taoism

8. HORIZON SERIES; American Heritage Publishing Company

   a. History of China

   b. The Arts of China

Audio-Visual Materials

1. Films - 16 mm. - sound

   a. RED CHINA DIARY - Part I; BW, 30 min.

   b. RED CHINA DIARY - Part II; BW, 30 min.

   c. MAO TSE TUNG; McGraw-Hill, BW, 26 min.

   d. PEIPING FAMILY; International Film Foundation, BW, 22 min.

   e. CHINA: SEARCH FOR NATIONAL UNITY, 1800-1927; Encyclopaedia Britannica, BW, 29 min.

   f. CHINA: CIVIL WAR AND INVASION, 1927-41; Encyclopaedia Britannica, BW, 22 min.

   g. CHINA: RISE OF COMMUNIST POWER, 1941-67; Encyclopaedia Britannica, BW, 29 min.

2. Filmstrips

   a. THE WORLD'S GREAT RELIGIONS; Life Filmstrips, color

      1. Buddhism

      2. Confucianism and Taoism

   b. PEKING: THE FORBIDDEN CITY; Life Filmstrips, color, 65 frames

   c. COMMUNIST CHINA AND WORLD AFFAIRS; Current Affairs Films, Bw, 40 frames

   d. CHINA AND HER NEIGHBORS SERIES; McGraw-Hill, color

      1. China: Past and Present

      2. China: Life in the cities

      3. China: Life in the country

      4. China: Industry and communications

e. RISE OF CIVILIZATION SERIES; Encyclopaedia Britannica, color

1. The rise of Chinese Civilization

f. A JOURNEY IN CHINA; Common Ground Filmstrips, color, 26 frames

g. BACKGROUND FOR TODAY'S CHINA; Bee Cross-media, Inc., color, 54 frames

1. City Life, Transportation, Crafts, Local Trades
2. Agriculture and Village Life
3. Cultural Life

h. TAIWAN, THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA; Bee Cross-media, Inc., color, 55 frames

i. HONG KONG; Bee Cross-media, Inc., color, 66 frames

3. Overhead Transparencies

a. PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY: COMMUNIST CHINA: A GEOPOLITICAL STUDY; Popular Science Pub. Co.,

1. People's liberation movement
2. Communist "democratic centralism"
3. The "three sector" economy
4. Collectivization of agriculture
5. Economic problems
6. Key points

b. WORLD GEOGRAPHY SERIES; General Aniline and Film Corp.

1. Mongol Empire

c. OUTLINE MAPS - ASIATIC DIVISIONS; A. J. Nystrom and Co.,

1. China and Japan

d. DISCOVER YOUR WORLD - CHINA; AEVAC Educational Publishers

1. Geography - physical features
2. History - religion and ethics
3. Anthropology
4. Sociology

5. Economics

6. Political Science

4. Disc Recordings

a. CHINESE MASTERPIECES FOR THE ERH-HU; Lyrichord Discs

b. GREAT EVENTS IN WORLD HISTORY; Columbia

1. Side 1 - Sun Yat-sen, The Man Who Saved China

c. CHINESE LUNAR NEW YEAR FOLK SONGS; Four Seas

d. CHINESE ART SONGS; Four Seas

e. THE RED LANTERN; Peking Opera; China Publications

f. BEHIND THE GREAT WALL; Monitor

g. FLOWER DRUM AND OTHER CHINESE FOLK SONGS; Monitor

h. THE RED LANTERN - SELECTIONS; China Pictorial, Musical Score with words included

A GENERAL SELECTION OF MAJOR THEMES

1. THE CH'ING DYNASTY

Revolution is nothing new in China. Periodically, a combination of famine, floods, heavy taxation, inefficient and corrupt officials, as well as foreign invasion would signal the fall of a dynasty and the rise of another. The concept of the "mandate of heaven," an ancient idea, provided for the rule by a dynasty only so long as heaven willed it. If the government could not perform its duties to the satisfaction of the people, the mandate would be removed. Natural disasters as well as popular dissatisfaction were indications that the mandate had been removed.

Because of these periodic revolutions, the study of Chinese history has traditionally been organized into dynastic cycles. While there is merit in such division, one must not lose sight of the continuity of Chinese history and tradition.

The last royal house of China was a foreign one. The Manchu invaders by the middle of the seventeenth century had successfully conquered China. The Ming rulers were troubled by administrative weaknesses, peasant rebellions, a poor army and lack of supplies, while the Manchu benefited from the Chinese desertions and superb leaders.

The Manchu rulers adopted the Ming form of government more or less intact. They introduced no major social or economic changes. Recolonization and intermingling of the people resulted in the Manchu becoming Sinicized. This is but one more example of the belief that those who conquer China are in turn conquered by China's civilization. However wise this may have been in the government of China, it resulted in the Manchu losing their own customs and also their fighting spirit which had characterized these tribes previously.

The Manchu gave the people of China a long period of peace and tranquility while embarking on a policy of public works and developing commerce and international trade. While removing the threat of invasion and war, the Ch'ing also undertook policies of alleviating famine and taxation.

One social change which the Manchu introduced however, was the requirement that the Chinese men shave their heads and wear queues and Manchu robes. Many Chinese men persisted in this custom even after the Nationalist Revolution. A custom that the Manchu tried to abolish was the binding of feet for women. This regulation was not enforced and it was not until after the Revolution of 1911 that women ceased to bind their feet.

The Manchu were fortunate to have as a leader, Dorgon, a Confucian intellectual who sought to win the support of the Chinese people for the new regime. This policy generally won the cooperation of the Chinese people. However, there were a few exceptions and instances of rebellion.

One of these exceptions was Wu-San-Kuei who deserted the Ming, to help the Manchu to victory in 1644. He was rewarded well but became arrogant and was removed from power. He tried to incite the Chinese to revolt against the foreigners, but by this time the Chinese were satisfied with the Manchu and remembered Wu's previous actions.

Another example of rebellion was led by the son of an ex-pirate who became a Ming official, and then ingratiated himself with the Ch'ing rulers. Known as Koxinga, he maintained his loyalty to the Ming dynasty and led a series of raids along the Chinese coast before establishing himself on Taiwan.

The island of Taiwan was first settled by Chinese during the Sui-T'ang period. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries many farmers continued to settle there as the land was fertile and the climate ideal for growing rice. Taiwan was later to become important as a refuge for fleeing Nationalists.

The Manchu seemed capable of dealing effectively with rebellions and also with various minority groups. The first Ch'ing leaders were men of

great ability who sought to become good monarchs and set moral examples to their people.

One of these emperors, K'ang-hsi, inherited the throne at the age of seven and ruled for sixty-one years. He issued the following edict to be hung on the walls of all schools in China in which he requested his subjects to do the following:

1. Observe filial piety and brotherly love to improve the basic human relations.
2. Respect your clansmen to promote the virtue of concord.
3. Live harmoniously with your fellow villagers to avoid quarrels and lawsuits.
4. Promote agriculture and sericulture to assure an adequate supply of food and clothing.
5. Practice thrift to save expenses.
6. Discard heretic ideas to strengthen orthodoxism.
7. Exalt schools to rectify the conduct of scholars.
8. Be familiar with the law to avoid ignorance and rascality.
9. Be humble and modest to cultivate good customs.
10. Be diligent in your profession to stabilize your will.
11. Warn your children and younger brothers against lawless activities.
12. Stop lawsuits to preserve good will.
13. Do not protect lawless elements in order to avoid involvement in consipacies.
14. Pay off your taxes to ward off tax duns.
15. Strengthen the pao-chia system to prevent robbery and thievery.
16. Patch up quarrels to protect your own life.

Students and teachers in each school were required to read the following edict aloud twice a month.

In spite of his ability as a monarch, K'ang-hsi had difficulty in selecting an heir to the throne. He had thirty-five sons and intrigues developed

as the eldest son was mentally incompetent. On his death bed, K'ang-hsi finally decided upon his fourth son who was known as Yung-cheng.

Yung-cheng was succeeded by his fourth son, Ch'ien-lung who was the last of the great emperors. During his long reign, China saw further expansion and prosperity was so prevalent that taxes were cancelled and the population increased so much that China's population doubled in approximately thirty years.

In fact, Ch'ien-lung's reign marked the apex of the Manchu dynasty. His successors were not so able and foreign pressures created great problems for China. Ch'ien-lung also became very complacent in his declining years which caused inefficiency in the government at every level throughout China as it became the custom for officials to keep silent about matters which might disturb the emperor.

The Chinese for centuries had believed in their cultural superiority. Those people who lived beyond the borders of China were not so advanced and respected Chinese leadership. Although the Chinese traded with people from foreign countries, the Chinese did not consider these goods essential to their livelihood. The Chinese traded in silk, tea, porcelains, and other luxuries, but controlled trade strictly and allowed to trade only at Canton. The foreigners couldn't deal with officials of the government directly but had to do business with the cohong, a group of merchants who had a monopoly of trade. European merchants were dissatisfied with this system of trade, but could not bring about any changes until after the Opium Wars. Ch'ien-lung explained to King George III his reasons for refusing to alter trading practices: As might be expected, Great Britain did not like the implications that the British needed in civilizing influences of China, and must obey the laws and customs of a superior civilization, and did not give up their desire for improved trading conditions so easily.

The first Manchu emperors were patrons of the arts and studied astronomy, mathematics, and geography, besides the traditional literature. Ch'ien-lung even ordered the compilation of all major works, although many originals were destroyed in the process if they were unfavorable to the Manchu.

Popular literature during the Ming-Ch'ing period was outstanding. Written by authors, usually under an assumed name, the novels especially had great appeal, although the novel was not recognized as an appropriate form of literary expression.

Corruption and rebellion signified the decline of the Ch'ing dynasty. The corruption of Ho-shen, Ch'ien-lung's Grand Chancellor, indicated that the dynasty had lost its mandate. A population explosion also contributed to internal troubles under the Ch'ing. Although at first the Manchu had profited by their understanding of the dynastic cycle and the importance of a just administration and equitable land policies, the demand for land exceeded the supply; and in spite of improved farming methods, not enough food was produced to feed the people. Poverty was the lot of a large part of the population. The growing corruption of the government worsened this situation and seriously weakened the empire. The White Lotus rebellion broke out and ravaged China before it was finally suppressed. However, from this time on the decline seems to have been irreversible as even Kuang-hsu, one of the last Ch'ing emperors who was a conscientious ruler, could not rejuvenate China. It is true that Kuang-hsu was not strong physically, was dominated by the empress dowager, and did not have the contact necessary with his people. However, he was intelligent and saw the need for reform. Together with K'ang Yu-wei, he attempted to change the government in what was to be called the Hundred Days Reform. China was not to be changed within the dynastic system however.

For geographical reasons it was almost inevitable that China developed in isolation. The expansion of the Western influences caused by the commercial

interests of the Western powers during the last four hundred years resulted in a cultural and ideological clash which China had never before experienced. Both civilizations believed in their cultural superiority and so were unprepared to make concessions to the other. The activities of Western missionaries also contributed to the alienation of the two cultures. Much of the conflict centered around these cultural and ideological differences, but they were also the result of ignorance that each had on the other's way of life.

Contact between the West and China had been initiated by European countries seeking new markets. The Chinese regarded themselves as being self sufficient. They, therefore, saw no need to encourage trade with foreigners or to encounter favorable conditions for trade and exported more than she imported, at least until 1825. The Chinese did not see the reason to establish diplomatic relations with European countries, nor to draw up commercial treaties.

European traders and missionaries had travelled to China over land routes during the Mongol rule--notably Marco Polo. The first European traders to reach China via a sea route were the Portuguese. The Chinese did not have a high regard for merchants within the Confucian classification. These first traders, however, were initially allowed to trade all along China's coast. The traders were governed by the profit motive and were not really interested in improving relations between China and the West. Many of these men were merely adventurers and pirates and not honest traders. They robbed and plundered as well as traded. Naturally, the Chinese thought that these foreigners were no better than the Japanese pirates which had been raiding the Chinese coast. Looting and plundering by the traders was justified, in their minds at least, by the fact that the Chinese were "heathens." It is extremely unfortunate that these adventurers were the first Westerners to have contact with the Chinese because they created a long lasting, very unfavorable impression. It was doubly unfortunate that these men did not represent their governments nor did they reflect the attitude of the European people.

Shortly after the arrival of the European traders, Roman Catholic missionaries played an extremely important role in the cultural conflict between the West and the Chinese. The first Catholic missionaries came to China in the thirteenth century, but it was not until after European traders reached China that any great effort was made to gain converts among the Chinese people. Generally, the Chinese had been tolerant of foreign religions. In fact, the Chinese people seemed to combine different aspects of native and foreign religions in their own lives. The Christians claimed to have a monopoly on truth, however, and aroused considerable resentment among the Chinese.

There were some early Jesuit missionaries to China who deeply impressed the intellectuals and rulers in Peking. Matteo Ricci, who was a master of tact and diplomacy, wore Chinese clothes, learned the language, taught the Chinese in mathematics and astronomy, and sought to win followers more through discussion with the intellectuals than attempts to preach. He also dissassociated himself from the politics of Europe. Although he did not win mass converts to his religion, Ricci, and other missionaries like him, created better understanding between China and Europe.

The harmonious relations between China and the Catholic Church did not last forever. Ricci had been a master of compromise--adapting Christianity to the ancient traditions of Confucius. Not all Catholics agreed with him. The arrival of other Catholic orders and ensuing factional rivalries, among other things, led to the estrangement of the Emperor K'ang-hsi and Pope Clement XI. Although the religious issue was whether Christian converts could or could not follow Confucian rites, the political question was the authority of the Pope versus authority of the Emperor. The Emperor issued an edict which forbade the Christians to preach in China. For some time afterward the Christians were able to preach as long as they didn't attack Chinese society. The Catholic church lost the support of the intellectuals of China; and therefore, lost its potential influence upon China.

The arrival of Protestant missionaries further contributed to religious controversies in China as each sect sought not only to proclaim its own beliefs but to criticize and discredit those of the other missionary groups.

When the Portuguese showed themselves inclined to looting and robbery, the Chinese sought to confine them to one small area--the island of Macao--and tried to prevent other Western barbarians from trading in China. Other nations, however, the Spanish, the Dutch, the French, and most importantly the British, forced to persuade the Chinese to trade. Although the Americans came later, they, too, profited from the China trade.

In spite of the restrictions upon trade, the Western influence could be seen in many parts of China. China, likewise, influenced the West with the introduction of many flowering plants from China, incense, tea, Chinese paintings and porcelains, and a growing interest in Confucianism. The merchants, however, chafed at their restrictions and sought to obtain even greater benefits from the China trade. This pressure of the Occident upon China, together with growing internal problems, resulted in the greatest changes in China's culture and social institutions since the founding of the Empire.

China did not experience a medieval period comparable to our Dark Ages. True, she had experienced revolutions, foreign invasions, and changes in her culture, but nothing that shook the foundations of society as greatly as that of Europe. Although China had developed largely in isolation, and foreign conquerors had absorbed much of Chinese culture, China had in the past accepted foreign ideas. Buddhism was a foreign religion. The Chinese had welcomed foreign scholars. Introduction of new food plants such as maize and the sweet potato contributed to a "food revolution." China had never been overwhelmed by a foreign culture before. She had never dealt with such a powerful people so convinced of their invulnerability and of their righteousness. With the difference of cultures and with each so adamantly opposed to accepting the demands of the other, war was inevitable. The

The result was the collapse of the Old China and a struggle for a new society which is still in progress today.

Great Britain, with whom the first war with the Western Powers was fought, was dissatisfied with the tribute system of Chinese foreign relations. She was accustomed to being treated as an equal. She disliked the Chinese legal system. The opium trade worsened conditions between the two countries, and war (known as the Opium Wars) broke out in 1839. The war lasted on and off interrupted by negotiations for three years until the British finally gained their demands.

The balance of trade had been favorable to China until the opium trade began to shift it. Opium had been used and grown in China for medicinal purposes for centuries, but the government sought to prohibit its use among the people as an escape device because of its physical and moral effects on the people. When the British began to import the drug from India, the Chinese government sought to enforce these regulations. The British continued to smuggle the opium into China and bribery often convinced the local officials to accept it.

In a futile attempt to stop the trade, the Emperor appointed Lin Tse-hsu as Imperial Commissioner in Canton. Lin held the foreign merchants as hostages and destroyed large cargoes of opium. The Americans and other nations signed the agreement to cease trade in opium, but the British did not. The British undoubtedly were concerned with the effects that traffic in Indian opium had on the British colony of India. As a result, the British were prohibited from trading with China. The Governor-General of India declared war on China, and British ships blockaded the port. Discussions and negotiations were fruitless until January, 1841, when the successor to Lin Tse-hsu granted the British their demands--cession of Hong Kong, resumption of trade, indemnities, and the principle of equality of nations. Both the Chinese and the British refused to accept this agreement,

and war was resumed. The British captured Canton and "ransomed" it to the government of China. The Emperor realized, as the British commander Bremer, gained control of the China coast; and as the Chinese traders resented Lin Tse-hsu more than they did the foreigners, he had not really known the full extent of the opium trade and was persuaded to negotiate in earnest.

The agreements that China signed were unfortunate and long lasting. Convinced that the foreigners only wanted to trade, the Chinese consented to a treaty which resulted in China depending upon foreign nations in conducting her commercial relations. By this treaty, and subsequent treaties together known as the Unequal Treaties, China was forced to subdue her policies and procedures--her way of life--to those of other nations. Westerners had very real complaints in trading with China, but the West also believed in national sovereignty, and one must ask the question whether one country has the right to force its trade upon another country.

The first treaty, The Treaty of Nanking, was followed by the Treaty of the Bogue which reinforced the most favored nation principle of the Nanking Treaty. It provided for the establishment of an International Settlement and provided that foreigners would have control of much of the revenue derived from the foreign trade. The second treaty after the Nanking agreement was the American Treaty of Wanghia which was signed in 1844 and became a model for following treaties. Commodore Kearny arrived in China after the Treaty of Nanking and sought trading rights in China. Kearny didn't succeed because Congress was afraid that he would press too hard in seeking an advantage and lose what the U. S. already had and made him come home. The Chinese thought that all Western nations had helped Britain arm for the Opium Wars and would be prepared to fight for trading rights. Knowing that China was unable to defend herself, they were ready to agree when Caleb Cushing arrived in 1844. The American Treaty could be revised

every twleve years and included the right of extraterritoriality and the most-favored-nation clause.

The Chinese felt that by signing these treaties they were finished with the matter. They felt that signing these agreements were only temporary expedients and that the foreigners would trade and allow China to live in peace. China felt that she could still hold the West at arm's length, but these treaties provided the legal basis for what was to be further penetration of the Chinese civilization.

In addition to treaties dealing with commercial ventures, edicts were signed which granted permission to erect Roman Catholic Churches and to grant Protestants the same rights. This was an uneasy truce. The foreigners confined to the treaty ports still wanted better conditions. Trade increased in the years from 1842-1855 and two of these forms--opium trade and the "pig trade" or the recruting of Chinese laborers--were the result of smuggling and piracy. In 1856 an incident broke out in which the ship, Arrow, owned by the Chinese, but having a British captain and flying the British flag, was boarded by Chinese officials who accused the ship's officers and crew of engaging in piracy. Both the British and the Chinese were uncompromising, and the incident led to armed conflict. The British took the forts of Canton, and the Cantonese retaliated by burning down foreign factories. Other nations wanted treaty reform and protection guarantees for the safety and protection of their citizens and property. A representative from the United States sought to deal with the officials at Peking; but like the others, he was refused and became convinced that Westerners must gain their rights in a manner which wouldn't be necessary when dealing with other powers. The Viceroy in Canton, Yeh Ming-ch'en, was kidnapped and sent to India and was accused of the basic responsibility for the war. The Westerners, holding Canton, then requested revision of the treaties. The Chinese government denied responsibility for Yeh's actions (who was acting upon official orders)

and sent a new viceroy to Canton. The Anglo-French proceeded to take more forts in Taku and Tientsin before Peking decided to negotiate. The Treaties of Tientsin were signed in 1858 by the Russians, Great Britain, France, and the United States. The treaty was to be ratified at Peking, but many obdurate Chinese were determined that the hated barbarians should never be allowed into the capital and that the treaty should be signed elsewhere. The allies insisted that the treaty be ratified in Peking. They fought their way to Peking and in retaliation for the violation of a flag of truce on this march to Peking and the difficulties involved, the British and French forces burned the Summer Palace, one of the architectural masterpieces of the world, to the ground--an act which the Chinese have not forgotten. As a result of the delay in signing the treaty, the allies demanded more concessions from China. The French, illegally, inserted a clause allowing their missionaries to purchase land in the interior of China.

These unequal treaties of 1858 and 1869 deprived China of the sovereignty of her navigable waters, granted jurisdiction to foreign governments to foreigners residing in China, deprived her of control over her tariffs, and forced an indemnity which the Manchus could not afford to pay. It is true that these treaties revealed weaknesses in the governmental system in China, and the attempts to deal with the Western demands caused internal pressures in the Middle Kingdom; however, more than anything else, the Western pressure put China in a vise from which it has not since recovered.

The foreign invasions, domestic distrubances, and incompetent government discredited the Manchu rulers and indicated that they had lost the Mandate of Heaven. The Taiping Rebellion was the most serious threat to the Manchu government until 1911. Although this was a native rebellion and was quelled by the government, the Christianity of the rebels indicated the Western influence in the social structure of China.

China had been struck by natural disasters during the late 1840's. Many peasants were driven to lawlessness which the local officials were unable to stop. These were the conditions which historically indicated rebellion. The leader of this rebellion,Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, had failed his civil service examination twice and then was exposed to Christianity. He tried again, failed, and became very ill. He emerged from this illness in which he said he had met God the Father and Jesus and that he was the younger son of God. He stated that God had given him instructions to rid China of "demons," meaning the Manchu rulers. He failed the civil service examination for the fourth time. He then organized the Society of God Worshippers and set about to establish a Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace. The rebels captured many Chinese cities and persecuted both Manchu officials and Buddhist and Taoist priests. The rebels were mostly poor peasants and attempted to bring about reforms. They believed that it was necessary to redistribute land so that it would be given to the needy, that women should have equal rights, and that gambling, drinking, and the smoking of opium should be outlawed. The Taiping armies were well disciplined and possessed a high morale, but their ideas were too radical for many conservative Chinese. Hung's rebellion was finally put down by those who believed that they would lose more if the Taiping Rebellion were successful than if the Ch'ing remained in power. Hung committed suicide when armies formed by Chinese landowners and officials took the Taiping capital. Two foreigners aided in the downfall of the Taiping, an American, Frederick Ward, and later an Englishman, Charles George Gordom. Both were skilled military commanders who saved China for the Manchu at critical periods during the rebellion. Too, Hung was something of a religious fanatic whose excesses in destruction lost him much support which he otherwise would have commanded. In addition, the Westerners, who had at first approved of the rebellion because of opposition to the government and also because of the Christianity of the

Taiping, soon realized that the rebels were more fanatical than the Ch'ing and just as nationalistic. Hense, the Westerners helped defeat the Taiping.

The Taiping rebellion, although by far the most serious, was only one of a series of revolts during the last half of the nineteenth century. Although the government partly recovered from these setbacks, it was never restored to its former strength and was never able to accommodate itself to a new order.

By a combination of circumstances, the dynasty was maintained for another half century after the fall of the Taiping. This is due in part to the Chinese states who supported the dynasty like Tseng Kuo-fan and Li Hung-chang, and to those other men who tried to rebuild the political and economic system, to change the social structure, and to promote the general welfare of the people. The rise of the Old Dowager, Tz'u Hsi, also contributed to the renewed vitality of the dynasty. Old Buddha, as she was called, was ignorant and ambitious, but was very nationalistic and conscious of the glory of China. The Western nations also relaxed their demands on China after the Taiping rebellion so as to maintain the stability of the Ch'ing government. China lost much of her territory during these years, however. England received Kowloon peninsula opposite Hong Kong; Russia received large tracts of land north of the Amur River which became the border between Russia and China and also the Maritime Province south of Korea. The tributary system was destroyed as Britain annexed Burma and the French controlled Indo-China (Viet Nam).

When the weak Emperor Hsien Feng died, those who were receptive to reform came to power. Prince Kung, brother of the dead Emperor, the two Dowager Empresses (the first wife and T'zu Hsi, the mother of the Heir) tried to reform China within the framework of Confucianism. They also were not averse to learning something of Western traditions and institutions and adopting of Western methods of industrialization. This period is known

as the T'ung Chih Restoration and lasted officially until 1874 but did not completely die until the mid 1890's.

The T'ung Chih Restoration might have been a futile attempt to reform the system, but as T'zu Hsi gained the real power, she became more reactionary. During the 60's and 70's she supported the restoration, but later she supported the elements in the country which maintained her power and crushed any opposition or anything which might limit her authority. Had she used her influences for reform, the course of Chinese history might have been different.

The forces of reaction violently opposed any break with tradition and were even more against the changes which were based upon Western ideas. Those who thought it necessary to learn about foreign affairs in the countries themselves received criticism that they were abandoning the Confucian witness. Some intellectuals did study in foreign countries such as the United States. Westernized schools were also established in China so that Western education could be combined with basic Chinese doctrines. Some of those advocating Westernized education thought it would be possible to limit it only to a technical sphere. Others realized that it would be impossible to incorporate Western technology without incorporating some aspects of Western ideas of freedom and democracy. Of course, T'zu Hsi was the one who decided the conflicts between the progressives and the conservatives in China.

As a result of the privileges gained by the European nations as a result of the unequal treaties and as a result of the contact between the peoples of the two civilizations, it was inevitable that there would be difficulties in understanding and dealing with each other. For example, the Chinese were accustomed to being in harmony with nature. They never felt that they should take great strides to change the natural environment. Although they did build canals and established techniques for flood control, they never tried to master the universe. In addition, they regarded themselves as having obligations, not only to their descendants, but also to the forebearers,

and consequently, were more bound by tradition than their Western counterparts. European attempts to build railroads, mines, erect telephone lines, and conduct archeaological excavations were met by opposition from the Chinese because it would disturb the harmony of the landscape and violate their ancestors. Obviously, there was much agitation between the East and West on these issues.

T'zu Hsi maintained her power by using the ancient doctrine of filial piety. Her son, T'ung Chih, grew to resent her influence but was unable to escape her domination. When he died at the age of nineteen, Old Buddha selected her nephew who was three years old; and therefore, subject to her authority. As he grew older, he, too, came to resent her authority and attempted to take his proper position and change China in what was known as the "Hundred Days Reform." Of course, politics as well as filial piety were on the Dowager's side.

In 1898, Kuang Hsu pushed aside his aunt and her eunuch advisers and made a widespread attempt to change education, government administration, foreign policy, agriculture, commerce, technology, and military affairs. Kuang Hsu's reforms amounted to nothing because of the continuing conservatism of many Chinese who refused to break with tradition and also because of the power of the empress, who again gained control of the government. Kuang Hsu had been humiliated by China's treatment at the hands of foreign powers and wanted to build his country to be independent. Japan had become very expansionistic after her industrialization and wanted to receive the same conditions that the Western nations had received by the unequal treaties. Beginning in 1871 with a conflict over the Liu-ch'iu islands and Taiwan, Japan and China were involved in a series of conflicts which did not end until World War II. Korea, because of its location, would obviously be a source of conflict between Japan and China--this had been true since the seventh century when the two countries fought each other over the area.

Now, however, Japan, as a result of her modernization and industrialization, was far stronger than China and in a position to push its demands. In 1895 an extremely harsh treaty, the Treaty of Shimonoseki, was signed between China and Japan granting Japan: Taiwan, the Pescadores, the Liaotung Peninsula, and a large indemnity. In addition, China granted Japan the most favored nation agreement which she had made with European countries. China also recognized the independence of Korea. Because of the conditions of this treaty, a fierce hatred of Japanese and an increased nationalism arose in China. The European nations, Russia, France, and Germany forced Japan to give up the Liaotung Peninsula. Germany had come late in the colonial race and hoped to make up in the Orient what she had lost in Africa. Therefore, she demanded Shantung in return for the aid she gave China in regaining Liaotung. After military action was taken by Germany, China agreed to the terms. Russia, who was invited to build a railroad in Manchuria and to help the Chinese fight Japanese aggression soon made further demands on Chinese territory. France also made more demands for land. In fact, these countries were creating virtual control or "spheres of influence" in China. It was under these conditions that Kuang Hsu, with his adviser, K'ang Yu-wei, sought to modernize and reform China. The reforms were clothed in Confucian ethics and were to be worked out within the basic traditional system.

The arch-conservatives could not tolerate the reforms and persuaded the Dowager to intervene. T'zu Hsi, who liked power, issued a decree that the Emperor was ill and resumed the control of the government. Kuang Hsu was forced to live in retirement, and K'ang fled for his life. This was the last real attempt to reform China within the framework of the monarchy. It was up to other reformers, like Sun Yat-sen, to find a new society for China. Ironically, Yuan Shih-k'ai, who later became President of the Republic of China, is the army officer who sold out Kuang Hsu and the other reformers to the Empress Dowager.

T'zu Hsi hated foreigners. Another reform movement, this one of reaction, sought to remove the foreigner and his ways from China. Although at a later time the Empress tried to pretend that she had nothing to do with it, in reality, the Society of Harmoneous Fists--The Boxers--had her support. The Boxers were a secret organization whose motto was to support the dynasty and rid China of the hated foreigners. Many rebellions in Chinese history had supersititous characteristics. The Boxer rebellion was no exception. It could have easily been an attempt to overthrow the dynasty, but it was quickly turned into a move to expel the foreigners. The Boxers were especially vindictive against the foreign missionaries. This was unfortunate; however, clash between the two cultures was inevitable. Most of the missionaries were sincere, dedicated men. They might have been misguided in trying to convert the Chinese, but they were not politically motivated nor were they trying to strengthen their governments' economic positions in China. The Boxers attacked the missionaries and their converts because they were the foreigners out among the people. The attack was, of course, also directed towards Western ideas and technology. The leasers of South China did not believe the Boxer legends about their immunity to Western bullets and their magic powers and would not support the rebellion. It was thus confined to northern China. T'zu Hsi, who had heard rumors that the emperor would be restored to the throne by the Western nations, declared war on eight of them at once. The Boxers received her support because they shared a hatred of the barbarians. China could not possibly have defended herself against these powers, and it is difficult to understand why the Empress acted in this way. As it was, China had to pay heavily for the miscalculation.

In 1899 John Hay of the United States issued what was known as the first of the Open Door notes in which he called on the major powers to guarantee equal trading rights in China and not seek special concessions at China's expense. In 1900 with the Boxer rebellion in progress, the U. S. again

sought to protect China's territorial integrity. However, the other nations were determined to receive compensation for their losses; and China was forced to pay a huge indemnity and to allow foreign troops in the Western legations to protect themselves against future disturbances. The foreign powers also received rights to build a railroad to the sea. China was granted the right to discipline her own revolutionaries, and the Empress pretended that she had not supported the rioters and that they had acted in defiance of the Manchu government.

After the failure of the Boxers, even the Empress realized that it was necessary to reform the army. Having been defeated time and again in the nineteenth century, finally provision was made in 1901 to have more military academies, to utilize foreign military advisors, usually Germans, to purchase modern weapons, and to encourage the provincial governors to build strong military units. The civil service system was abolished, and people served in government positions according to ability. In addition, many Chinese students began to go abroad to further their education. The United States returned much of the indemnity it received after the Boxer Uprising which was used for scholarships and the building of a new university at Peking.

With this exchange of ideas, it was natural that these students should seek a change in the government and the dynasty in particular. In 1908 the Dowager consented to a constitutional parliamentary government in nine years time. The constitution was to operate in the provinces at first. The provincial governors were not about to give up their power, however, and wanted a national parliament which would dominate the Manchu rulers. Yuan Shih-k'ai emerged as the strong man in this political struggle although technically the three year old heir, Pu-yi, would rule China. The novel, Imperial Woman, by Pearl Buck about T'zu Hsi and her court is very effective in characterizing the woman and her rule of China.)

The Manchu dynasty fell in 1911. It was not a new dynasty which appeared on the scene, but an entirely new form of government for China--a republic. The Father of this revolution and the man to whom the major task of reshaping China fell was Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

2. THE REPUBLIC

There are many personalities which dominate the post dynastic period. Sun, Chiang K'ai-shek, his protege, Yuan Shih-k'ai, Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, and Chou Teh are among the most familiar to the Western reader.

Sun Yat-sen was not an ordinary Chinese. He literally was a product of two worlds. He was born into a peasant family in Canton, but went to live in Hawaii at the age of thirteen. One of his brothers participated in the California Gold Rush. Sun studied Western civilization under Christian missionaries and later converted to Christianity. He became a medical doctor but decided that he would be more useful saving the lives of millions of his countrymen by bringing reform to China than he would in the practice of medicine. He spent much of his life outside of China--promoting the republic and seeking financial support. He also spent much of his time in exile. Sun did not live to see China united, but he is credited with being the driving force of the revolution.

As has been stated before, there were different types of reform movements ranging from the conservative to the very liberal and from those who favored maintaining the monarchy to those who wished to see China become a republic. These revolutionaries did not cooperate with each other and an abiding hostility developed among the revolutionaries.

Sun Yat-sen was not really a brilliant theorist or great leader of men. He did not really understand the Chinese people, nor did they understand him. He did have great personal appeal, a deep faith in China and her people, and the ability to draw and keep the loyalty and respect of the people. In fact, both the Nationalists under Chiang K'ai-shek and the Communists under Mao Tse-tung recognized his contributions and his ideals for China. (Madam Sun Yat-sen lost faith in Chiang's policies and became an influential member of the Chinese Communist Party. Her sister is married to Chiang K'ai-shek and another sister married the industrialist, H. H. Kung.) His following was based more on his personal characteristics rather than upon

a good organization and political ideals. This fact led to the partisan bickering and strong attempt at leadership and control of the party after Sun's premature death in 1925.

In 1894 Sun founded the Hsing Chung Hui, the Revive China Society. The members were discovered when they tried to capture the city of Canton, and Sun left China until 1911. Revolutionary activity was prevalent in Japan among the Chinese who resided there, and in 1905 these revolutionaries and Sun's group founded the United League. This league, in addition to calling for a republic, called for land reform. This question of land reform was the issue which separated the revolutionaries from the reformers. Sun believed in a combination of methods used by Wang Mang Wang An Shih and Socialism. His policies were later developed in the Three Principles of the People.

Sun's revolutionaries did not bring about the downfall of the Ch'ing dynasty; however, conflict over the control and building of railroads in China did. Foreign governments were cheating China, and China attempted to nationalize the railroads without repaying some of the local provinces who had paid levies for the railroads. Insurrection broke out. The United League had been preparing to act; but was forced to strike ahead of schedule when explosives went off accidentally, and they were afraid of being caught. There was no leader who could take over the rebellion at that time. Finally, Li Yuan-hung assumed control of the revolutionaries.

The dynasty put Yuan Shih-k'ai in control of the force to defeat the bandits. Yuan Shih-k'ai hoped to obtain power for himself and insisted that certain conditions be met before he would act. He wanted the revolutionary groups to be legalized, full military power for himself, and the institution of a cabinet form of government. He then set out to defeat the revolutionaries who had control of the South. Since both Yuan and the revolutionaries wanted the overthrow of the dynasty, the agreed to compromise. The Manchu were made to abdicate. Members of the Tung Meng Hui had agreed to elect Yuan

President. However, when Sun arrived on the scene in late December, Sun was elected president by the provinces. Knowing of Yuan's position and ambitions, Sun said that when the Manchu abdicated, he would yield to Yuan if Yuan heeded the constitution. Sun thought that parliament could control the ambitious Yuan. The United League continued as a political party known as the Kuomintang. It was one of many political parties, one of which was the Progressive Party. It was the military who controlled China for the next fifteen years not political parties.

Yuan Shih-k'ai had never really favored the republican form of government, and by 1915 it was obvious that he wanted to restore the empire with himself at the head. Opposition to this came not only from the republicans but from those warlords who wanted to see a weak central government so that they could control their own territories. After Yuan's death in 1916, China was torn apart by warlordism. It had been nothing new in Chinese history; but it greatly hindered the rebuilding of a stable, united China. Besides the territorial conflicts of the warlords and the resulting destruction to life and property, the ten years after Yuan's death were also a period of great corruption in government.

Yuan lost favor for his dealings with the Japanese particularly. China had been suffering from the effects of the unequal treaties for some time. China had also suffered at the hands of Japan. Japan entered World War I on the side of the allies and used war to gain control over Chinese possessions which had been controlled by Germany. During this time, the Japanese, who didn't want to see China turn into a strong republic, issued to Yuan Shih-k'ai what were known as the Twenty One Demands. Yuan made the demands public, and protest, especially by the United States, resulted in the most severe demands being withdrawn. Yuan, because of great pressure, yielded to all but the harshest of the demands. Chinese patriots violently rejected the others.

Japan also sought to use World War I for her advantage. She wanted to control the German possession of Shantung and made an agreement with the Allies to that effect. China entered World War I in 1917 not knowing that France and England had already promised Shantung to Japan. China felt that the West had sold her out and left Versailles without signing the treaty. President Wilson had been sympathetic to Chinese demands but was not able to do anything as he didn't wish to alienate the Japanese.

The Far Eastern question did not end with the signing of the Versailles Treaty. The Washington Conference of 1921-1922 dealt with the power balance in Asia and navel disarmament. The treaties emerging from these meetings were: The Four Power Pacific Treaty (United States, Great Britain, Japan, and France) which called upon the contracting parties to respect the "insular possessions and insular dominions" and to settle controversy in this area by peaceful means. The Five Power Naval Treaty called for the cessation of capital ship construction and limitation on tonnage of capital ships and aircraft carriers in the ration of 5:5:3:1.75:1.75 for England, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy. The Nine Power Open Door Treaty incorporated the principles of the American Open Door policy. However, there were no means to enforce these policies. China did receive Shantung.

The treatment that China received at the peace conference aroused great protest in China. Students and professors led what became known as the May Fourth Movement, an example of nationalism in which the Chinese felt that she had been betrayed by the Western democracies and must throw off the yoke of Japanese imperialism herself. This movement also indicated that many Chinese intellectuals were dissatisfied with China's internal policies. China had been suffering from exhorbitant taxation demanded by the warlords. If merchandise was sent to another province, more taces had to be paid to the local warlord. Taxes often were to be paid in advance. If the warlords were deposed, additional taxes must be paid to the new rulers.

Although the Manchu had been deposed, China was not united. Many people, therefore, thought that Chiang K'ai-shek, although not a politician, would be able to stabilize China because of his strong military background.

In addition to calling for "science and democracy," these new Chinese intellectuals, who tried to modernize China, initiated a new system of writing--the pai-hua or colloquial movement. The previous scholars felt that only the classical style was suitable for use in literature. Now the language, as it was spoken, was to be used for newspapers, textbooks, and novels.

The period of intellectual questioning was not limited to politics. Old Confucian traditions like filial piety and loyalty to the family and clan were losing hold on the population. Both the Communista and the Nationalists wanted to substitute a greater loyalty to the state. Girls were becoming emancipated in the Western tradition. The rise of industry meant that the old Confucian class system had to be revised.

While China was suffering from the domination of the warlords, Sun Yat-sen had still not given up his ideals for China. He could not receive the help he needed from the West and so turned to Russia where he gained the support he needed. Although Sun did not believe that Communism was right for China, he and the Russian, Adolph Joffe, reached an agreement that Russia would give assistance in developing China's independence and unification. Communists were allowed to join the Kuomintang, but not as a group, and maintained their Communist party membership while supporting Sun as their leader. The Russians helped the Chinese establish the Whampoa Military Academy under the command of Sun's protoge, Chiang Kai'shek.

Sun's principles of the people were the basic philosophy for study. Sun's principles appealed to the pride of the Chinese and to their ancient culture. <u>The Principle of Nationalism</u> was designed to rid China of the unequal treaties and put China on an equal footing with the other nations of the world and to put all the people in China on an equal basis. In the <u>Principle</u>

of Democracy, Sun stated that equality should be of opportunity and that everyone should have the right to vote but that government should be in the hands of the capable. He believed that a process should be initiated to make the government democratic as he felt that China could not change spontaneously. Because he felt that the warlords would never give up their power unless they were compelled to do so, he believed that China should be united by military force. He then believed that the country should be guided along the road to constitutional government and democracy by political tutelage in which the people would be taught to govern themselves. The third and final stage was constitutional democratic government. Obviously, there would be many problems in bringing about democracy in China. Conceivably, the Kuomintang might never give up the control it had during the period of tutelage. In Sun's Principal of the People's livelihood, he stated that the land should belong to those who tilled the soil. Unlike the Communists, however, Sun thought that this should be obtained by gradual means.

Sun was a unifying force in China. For many Chinese he could do no wrong. Even those who disagreed with him thought that he did what he thought best for China. As it was, Sun died of cancer before he saw a unified China. After his death even the Kuomintang was split into many rival factions. This intra-party rivalry seriously hindered the Nationalists' attempt at unification and gave the Chinese Communist Party an opportunity to gain strength.

Sun had accepted the help of both the Russian and the Chinese Communists. Mao Tse-tung was one of the original organizers of the Chinese Communist Party although he did not really come to power until many years later. After the Sun-Joffe agreement, many Communists joined the Kuomintang. They really intended to seize control of the Kuomintant when the time was suitable. Some of Sun;s advisers, including Chiang Kai-shek, were opposed to this move. After Sun's death this issue of the Communists became crucial.

After succeeding Sun as leader of the Nationalists, Chiang decided to rid China of the warlords. He led the Northern Expedition to route the warlords and capture the capital at Peking. He was successful during the winter of 1926-1927 having captured the cities of Hankow and Shanghai. However, the Communist rivalries were increasing. Chiang was convinced that the Communists were going to seize power for themselves and decided to strike first. The Communist had been using the expedition for economic and political purposes encouraging the workers to strik taking land from the warlords and inciting violence and demonstrations. It was at this point that Chiang decided to liquidate the Communists. Many Chinese Communists were killed. (Chou En-lai was one who barely escaped with his life.) This marked the beginning of a bitter hatred between the Nationalists and the Communists. Chiang took action against the Communista without the authorization of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang. With this type of pressure, the war against the warlords was stopped. Chiang resigned and went into exile. As it became more evident that the Communists were agents of Moscow, their sympathizers in the Kuomintang came over to Chiang's point of view.

The Northern Expedition was in many ways a nationalistic venture. Nationalism had been increasing in China because of continued Japanese and British control of large parts of the economy and their use of force to suppress demonstrations. The success of Chiang's campaign would rid China of these foreigners. This was another reason why many Chinese didn't want to fight each other but rather the common enemy.

By 1928 both the right and left factions of the Kuomintang had agreed to the purging of the Communists from the Party. The Northern Expedition was continued and the son of the last warlord, Chang Tso-lin, pledged his support of the Nationalists unifying China in name at least. This young warlord, Chang Hsueh-liang, was to figure in a later development.

Chiang Kai-shek was primarily a military leader, and there were many in China who felt that this was exactly what China needed; as decision had been ultimately decided on the battlefield in the past. Although the Nationalists had only nominally achieved unity, the government at Nanking was popular. Chiang was conservative, but many Chinese felt that his conservatism would result in a breathing spell and peace after so many years of war. Chiang's efforts in ridding China of the "unequal treaties" also increased his popularity with the people.

After Peking had been captured by the Nationalists and China was unified, in theory, the second period of government began--that of political tutelage. This was to be the period of building self-government in China starting at the local level and culminating in a national constitutional government. The Nationalists still had their enemies, however. The warlords were still active in the North, the Communists had gone into hiding but were still planning to take over, and Japan was still determined to fill the "power vacuum" which existed in China. For these reasons Chiang concentrated his attention on military control and strength rather than in trying to solve China's social and political problems. Chiang fought these enemies for twenty years; and with the war with Japan in 1937, the whole issue of social and economic reform was delayed. Chiang regarded the Communists as the most serious of his three enemies and set out to destroy them.

There are many reports of Nationalist corruption. Chiang himself was personally honest and enjoyed a large measure of popularity. Many of his followers and advisers were not so honest or incorruptible. The Nationalists were blamed for many of the hardships that China suffered during the war with Japan; and as the Nationalists lost support, the Communist gained it.

The Nationalists did institute programs of agricultural reform and attempted to deal with the problems of inflation although World War II plunged China into an economic crisis. Chiang also emphasized construction

of railroads and highways and industrialization of China. Although the government alleviated the problems caused by floods, it could not effectively deal with the land problem; and the majority of China's peasants fared no better than they had before. Chiang also emphasized education as part of the process for constitutional government. The government concentrated on institutions of higher learning as it was not able to introduce mass education.

Japan did not want to see China become a strong nationalist country. She was very interested in Manchuria as it was not so heavily populated and an outlet for Japan's overpopulation and as it was rich in natural resources. In 1931 after a seemingly unimportant incident, Japan attacked the Manchurian city of Mukden. Chang Hsueh-liang, the Young Marshall, controlled Manchuria and did not want to see the Japanese control it. Chiang was more interested in fighting Communists and did not feel that China was able to risk a war with Japan. After their easy conquest of Manchuria, the Japanese set up a puppet state, Manchukuo, and placed the last Emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty, Pu-yi, on the throne to preserve the appearance of legality. Although Chiang did not take military action against the Japanese, he protested to the League of Nations which, after investigation, accused the Japanese of an unjustified attack of China. The League would not take any action against Japan, but the Japanese left the League in protest.

Japan continued her military aggression and was attempting to control all of North China. As the Japanese gained more and more territory, the Chinese still did not fight; but Chinese nationalist was running high, and demonstrators argued for opposition to the Japanese. They wished that China would fight a war and lose rather than continue to retreat. The Chinese added to the situation by calling for a united front against the Japanese. Chiang still would not undertake the Japanese until he had eliminated the Communist threat. He might have continued to this position except for what became known as the "Sian incident." By 1937 a full scale, but undeclared, war had begun with Japan.

While the Japanese were encroaching upon China's territory, the Chinese Communists were engaged in a bitter struggle with Chiang. The Communists, who had escaped Chiang's purge, were still determined to defeat him and engage in a series of hit and run guerilla raids. Mao Tse-tung who emerged as the leader of these Communists did not follow the orthodox Communist doctrines. The Russians, believing that the revolution must be started in the cities, underestimated the strength of the Chinese peasantry. They didn't realize that Chinese rebellions had been historically motivated by peasant dissatisfaction. Mao, who fled to the hills of Hunan, was able to develop his own brand of Communism and was compelled to work without Russia's support. Beginning with Chiang's Bandit Extermination Campaigns, the Communists were forced to flee southeastern China to the mountains of Shensi. This "Long March" which took a year is a great period in Chinese Communist history. Those who survived the Nationalist and warlord armies, the famine, and disease became the core of the Chinese Communist Party. Losing sixty thousand men, they, nevertheless, received increasing support from the peasants wherever they went. Had it not been for the "young Marshall," the Chinese Communists might have been exterminated by Chiang. Fleeing the Japanese in Manchuria, the Young Marshall and his army were ordered to move against the Japanese. These soldiers, having lost their homes, did not want to fight other Chinese and began to fraternize with them. The Communists urged the Young Marshall to persuade Chiang to unite against the common enemy, the Japanese. Chiang flew to Sian to investigate the situation and was "kidnapped" by the Young Marshall. He refused to cooperate and probably would have been killed had it not been that Stalin felt that Chiang was the only one who could unite China and stall off the Japanese. Chiang finally agreed to cooperate but took the Young Marshall as hostage. (He was taken to Taiwan when the Nationalists fled the mainland.) As a result of this, China avoided a bloodbath, and the second united front began.

When China finally decided to fight the Japanese, they were satisfied with nothing less than total victory. It was to their credit that the warlords went to China's defense even though they had inferior methods and were no match for the Japanese. The warlords, who had been accustomed to fighting chivalrous battles, were annihilated by the Japanese. Although the Japanese won victory after victory, Chinese patriotism would not let her leaders surrender. As the Japanese captured the coastal cities, the Chinese retreated far into the interior of China carrying whatever they could to their mountain retreat in Chingking. Free China, as it was known, maintained classes and transported medical, scientific equipment and entire libraries to the interior. The Chinese suffered tremendously as they were cut off from outside help. Chiang had lost his best troops and was forced to fight a defensive war. The civilian population suffered much from the invading Japanese. The Japanese soldiers committed numerous atrocities against the Chinese people. The Chinese people frustrated the Japanese attempts to exploit the resources of the occupied areas; and the Japanese had over-extended themselves in pressing the Chinese into China.

The Japanese had been hoping for a quick victory in China and then wished to concentrate on fighting the United States and Russia. In this they were surprised by the resistance of the Chinese. The United States had been disturbed over conditions in China but hadn't taken any action until the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. After this the United States, hoping to prevent the fall of China, gave China vital support although it was difficult to supply Free China. The famous Burma Road and the supply planes which flew the "hump" linked China with the outside world. The U. S. sent few troops but did send military advisers including General Joe Stilwell. The volunteer "Flying Tigers" under General Chennault defended the Chinese against the invaders. During this time the United States and Great Britain gave up what remained of the special rights they had in China, and China was given

a seat on the Security Council when the United Nations was organized in 1945.

There were difficulties in American-Chinese relations, however. Chiang Kai-shek disagreed with Stillwell over the arming of the Chinese Communists. Tensions between the Nationalists and Communists had been building and Chiang still felt that they were more dangerous than the Japanese. The Yalta Conference did not please the Chinese either when Port Arthur would be leased to the U. S. S. R. and Dairen internationalized and Outer Mongolia would become independent and the interests of the Soviet Union would be safeguarded in return for Russia's entering the war against Japan after Germany's defeat. Chiang had little choice but to agree to these terms. In return the Soviets promised to aid Chiang in his fight with Japan.

The Chinese Communists fared very differently from the Nationalists during World War II. Long bitter enemies, the two parties united temporarily while maintaining an active dislike and distrust for each other. The Communists had long term goals. Most of the Communist energy was devoted to expanding the Communist position and little to fighting the Communists although they fought spectacular guerilla type campaigns which aroused the support of the people and were active in propaganda urging resistance to the Japanese. The Communists dominated the countryside and initiated policies of land reform and education in areas under their control in order to win popular support. The Communists also gained the support of those who had grown dissatisfied with Chiang's authoritarian ways. Both groups were looking to what would happen when the war was over. When the United States entered the war, it seemed as if the Chinese concentrated even more on their internal struggle. When the Communists attempted to influence areas under the control of the Nationalists, Chiang struck back. This three sided war continued until 1945. Many Americans were not happy with conditions in Free China. The Nationalists, of course, were not responsible for many

of the conditions which existed in the war torn country; but Chiang couldn't or wouldn't do anything about his corrupt officials and did not want to offend segments of China's population upon whom he depended for support. Therefore, the Chiang lost support of much of both the Chinese population and many Americans.

After World War II ended, the balance of power had changed in China. The nation was weary from a bloody war in which Chiang's forces had suffered heavily. Mao's army, on the other hand, was stronger than it had been. Both the Nationalists and the Communists claimed so support Sun's Three Principles of the People. Chiang tried to revive Confucianism and the doctrine of filial piety rather than Mao's Marxism. The war did not end the fighting between the Chinese forces. The Communists controlled much of the Japanese occupied territory and wanted the Japanese to surrender to them. The Japanese had been ordered to surrender only to Chiang's forces, however. The Russians aided the Communists in Manchuria. As the war was ending, the Russians had invaded Manchuria. Before they left, they took the industrial equipment as an indemnity and gave the military supplies to the Communists. The Russians violated the Yalta agreement in thus supplying the Communists with modern war materials. In 1947 a struggle broke out over Manchuria. Chiang lost to the Communists who then began an offensive for the conquest of China. General George Marshall spent thirteen months in China trying to bring about a coalition government and bring peace to China, but neither side would give. He left in early 1947, and the war continued for the control of China.

Many have debated the reasons that the Nationalists lost the mainland. For one thing, the people were tired of wars and military campaigns. Chiang's soldiers, although having superior military equipment and more men, did not have the army spirit of Mao' forces. Political tutelage had not worked in China as it merely maintained a political elite and didn't bring about

the constitutional government. Thus, if the Kuomintang had remained the party that it had been under Sun, it might have accomplished its goal; but as it was, it merely maintained those loyal to the party leaders. The Kuomintang was isolated from the people whereas Mao was close to the peasants and encouraged their support. The corruption of the Nationalist leaders rendered any U. S. aid inefffective in spite of Chiang's integrity. Also, Mao was, and is, a strong personality and was a powerful revolutionary leader. At any rate the Nationalists fled to the mainland in the spring of 1949; and the Communists established the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949.

In the "White Paper" of 1949, the United States blamed the downfall of the Nationalists on their own corruption and refused to give any more aid. The Nationalists were prepared for the worst when North Korea invaded South Korea, and the U. S. was forced to revise its China policy. The Seventh Fleet was ordered to protect the island. China's intervention in the Korean War led the United States closer to the government on Taiwan.

There is much to be said for the government on Taiwan. For one thing, the Nationalists have "cleaned house." They knew that they would have to be respectable and so purged themselves of the corrupt officials. The leaders of the government, although they are men in power because of their loyalty to Chiang, are honest men dedicated to good government in China. Although not a democracy, the Nationalists have accomplished agricultural and economic reform. Taiwan is naturally wealthy, and the Nationalists made great progress industrially. There is also much local autonomy in the Taiwan government. Problems which the government faces are an expanding population and the maintenance of the fiction that Taiwan represents all of China.

The People's Republic of China has brought drastic changes to the Chinese mainland. Never before has China been so centralized and unified. After

rooting out their opponents, the Communists sought to win over the intellectual in a process called "thought remolding." The Communists wanted people who would be useful to the new state and saw more advantage in changing their thinking than in exterminating them.

The people of China had no choice but to accept the rule of the Communists. Mao held absolute authority as the emperors of the past had done. As with Russia, the party and its leaders effectively control the government, although there is a constitution and elected political bodies. Until 1954 political parties were allowed to exist; but since then, no opposition has been tolerated.

The Communists have faced some tremendous obstacles and have achieved great success in some areas and failed miserably in others. They inherited economic problems and a country torn by foreign and civil war. Much of her industry had been destroyed by the Japanese and by the Communists themselves in the war with the Nationalists. She was short of communication and transportation systems and of skilled manpower. Although she has many natural resources, China is handicapped in certain critical areas, notably oil. China also did not have the necessary capital to engage in large-scale industrial and agricultural reform.

To achieve industrialization, the government launched a series of five-year plans modeled after those of Russia. She decided to sell agricultural products to support her industrialization. The first program emphasized heavy industry. All the people were required to make sacrifices, but they were treated equally; and the corruption of previous governments was eliminated. Pleased with the success of the first plan, the Chinese made plans for a second, known as the Great Leap Forward. Again, heavy industry was emphasized; but the leaders overestimated China's capacity to produce. Quality was sacrificed to make production quotas. A program to turn out crude iron from house blast furnaces was a failure. The transportation system broke down and the people received little in return for their labor.

Agriculture was radically altered during this period. China needed to increase her food production, and Mao turned to people's communes as a means of making the farming operation more efficient and pushing socialism. The peasants lost what land they had. The commune leaders didn't have sufficient knowledge to use effective methods; and China suffered from drought, famine, and floods which reduced her production. As a result, China had to import food; and her industrialization program was slowed down.

The growing Sino-Soviet split did not help China during this period as the Russian did not give needed aid or technical assistance.

The Chinese Communists in spite of their mistakes in planning (a point might be made about the scope of an economy versus the limited planning by various segments of a capitalist economy) have utilized their tremendous manpower in bringing economic progress to China. Highways, railroads, irrigation projects, and industrial plants have been constructed. China is a nuclear power and has orbited a satellite. In addition, the Communists have profited from their mistakes which indicate that the economic situation will be better.

In many ways, Communism is merely a state in the dynastic cycle. However, the Communists have changed China's social patterns more than they have been in any other period. As the Communists believe that economics is the basis for history and man's relationships, social and cultural relationships have been altered to fit this viewpoint. The family has been radically changed. The laws appear similar to those in the West. However, the Communists can determine when a member of a family has been injured. The people are told not to listen to oppressive elders. Women were given equal rights. The government hoped to decrease the Confucian family system and increase loyalty to the state. Women out of the home could produce goods for the state. Children in the classrooms were subject to Commmunist control. Private affairs should not interfere with the needs of the state.

The Chinese traditionally have had great national pride. The Communists are no exception. They wish for China to be the equal of any other country and have, therefore, pushed sanitation and health care, have been conscious of "culture," and have cleared slums and built modern cities.

It's difficult to estimate whether the Chinese are better off under Communism than they had been before. For a short time, Mao allowed the intellectuals to criticize the government in which he said, "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend." Mao did not like the opposition which he heard and rapidly restored strict censorship in China. Foreign observers in China have either praised the accomplishments of the mainland government or been very critical of it.

Mao's Red Guards have been organized to help him in his Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They received opposition from Mao's critics, and in 1967 armed conflict arose in which many of China's art treasures were destroyed.

China under Communism is not a puppet to be controlled by foreign powers. It is strong and self-sufficient and dedicated to the spread of communism. In the last respect, he has met opposition from abroad.

In the beginning Mao concentrated on developing his position in Asia. He feared that the U. S. would try to overthrow him. He also worked closely with the Soviet Union. When Mao entered the Korean War, the West became convinced that Communism was a threat to peace in East Asia. American aid to the Nationalists on Taiwan was a matter of pride to Mao who hoped to control all the Chinese. China did not want strong governments along her borders and sought to insure a neutral government. At first, proclaiming policies of peaceful coexistence with the countries of Asia, China began to extend her power. Tibet fell to the Chinese; attacks were made along India's border. Indo-China (what is now Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia) is also part of China's Communist plans. The defeat of the French by the Japanese in World War II led the Indo-Chinese to resist the French attempts

to regain control of the area after the war. Many of these Nationalists were Communists, and neutrals. The neutrals tried to steer a middle course and formed a neutralist government in 1962, but members of all three factions held political offices. Vietnam was divided along the 17th parallel at the Geneva Conference in which the northern part, held by the Communists, would remain so under Ho Chih Min, and the south would have an anti-Communist government. The government of South Vietnam was shaky and torn by factions, some of them Communist who worked to bring about the overthrow of the government. This situation has led to American, Chinese, and Russian involvement in Vietnam. Cambodia has also had difficulty maintaining a position regarding the Communists, anti-Communist balance of power within the country, and the sovereignty of the nation itself.

Communist China has proved that all Communist nations don't follow the leadership of the Soviet Union. The rise of China brought about a split in the Communist camp. The issue has not been settled.

One problem which remains to be solved is the "two China" problem and the issue of diplomatic recognition by the United States and the admission of the mainland government to the United Nations. The future of China remains to be seen. One thing is obvious, however. In spite of their differences, the Chinese have much in common with people of the West and people everywhere. They desire the necessities of life, education and livelihood, peace for themselves and their families, and pride in themselves and their country.